Scribal Traditions and Administration at Emar

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One of the most striking discoveries the first editors of the Emar material made was the existence of two scribal traditions, recognizable at first glance by the different shape of the tablets and their distinct sealing. Further studies have worked out other distinguishing features related to paleography, language, and phrasing[1]. While the chronological relationship between both traditions is still a matter of discussion, their different social embedment has been generally accepted. The so-called Syro-Hittite tradition is a result of the Hittite expansion in Syria, whereas the Syrian tradition represents the local order and has its roots in pre-Hittite times. Since the research efforts have concentrated upon the legal documents, it is the aim of this contribution to find out whether the two scribal traditions are also discernible in the administrative texts and if so, which are their specific traits. Subsequently, I will try to outline the administrative context of the tablets, taking into account especially the social groups that generated them, the nature and purpose of the texts and the types of activities concerning which they were written.

The first question regarding the scribal traditions is to be answered in the affirmative. Both the Syrian and the Syro-Hittite convention can be traced in the administrative corpus as well. This corpus consists of approximately 175 texts, which make up ca. 15% of the total. Similar to the legal material, paleography has turned out to be a basic instrument for identifying the scribal traditions. Additional distinguishing features concern the shape of the tablets, some spellings, their layout, as well as bookkeeping notation. Some of these traits are also present in the legal documents, others are specific to the administrative texts. Even if they do not always appear in a consistent way, they give us a general picture of how each scribal tradition applied an administrative record on clay.

However, it is necessary to say in advance that this general picture is provisional and needs corroboration by new texts. The main reason for this is the fact that the overwhelming majority of the available evidence corresponds to the Syro-Hittite tradition, so that the comparison cannot be carried out on equal terms[2].

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[1] See Seminara 1998, 9-20; Ikeda 1999; Faist 2002, 134-141; and Cohen 2005a for a summary.

[2] Texts certainly belonging to the Syrian tradition: *Emar* 44, *Emar* 45, *Emar* 46, *Emar* 47, *Emar* 48, *Emar* 49, *Emar* 50, *Emar* 52, *Emar* 53, RE 17, EM 2, EM 3. On the ground of their rectangular shape RE 62 and ETBLM 30 have been assigned by the respective editors to the

This stands in opposition to the legal documentation, where texts of the Syrian type are amply represented. This contrasting situation has above all to do with the provenance of the tablets. As we shall see, most administrative records belong to the professional archive of the diviner's family that lived in the building called M_1. This family was in close contact with the Hittite overlord and produced written documentation of the Syro-Hittite type only[3].

With this remark in mind we can now turn to the distinguishing features:

1. As has already been mentioned, paleography is the most reliable factor. Tablets of the Syro-Hittite type reveal a more modern writing, comparable to the Middle Babylonian and New Hittite script, while tablets of the Syrian type have older signs and are close to Old Babylonian ones[4]. In spite of the relevance of paleography, administrative texts often have a quite limited inventory of signs, so that it is not possible to make a clear statement. In these cases the occurrence of other traits can be of help.

2. As in the legal documents, there is a clear tendency in the Syro-Hittite tradition to have tablets of horizontal orientation, where the writing runs parallel to the longer side[5]. In contrast, the Syrian tradition prefers vertical tablets, where the writing runs parallel to the shorter side[6].

3. In the Syro-Hittite texts the use of the determinative for person follows the same pattern as in the legal documents: it is generally omitted in the father's name ($^{m}PN_1$ DUMU $^{\varnothing}PN_2$)[7]. On the contrary, the Syrian tradition tends to a more "economic" use of the determinative[8], which can be omitted also in the name of the son ($^{\varnothing}PN_1$ DUMU $^{\varnothing}PN_2$)[9].

4. When writing a list, the scribes of the Syro-Hittite system often make use of the repetition sign MIN, which stands for the corresponding commodity and in some cases also for the unit of measurement[10]. This trait is absent in the Syrian tradition so far.

Syrian tradition. The paleography indicates, however, that they belong to the Syro-Hittite type.
[3] Ikeda 1998; Yamada 1998.
[4] See Wilcke 1992, who made a list of the most relevant signs. To this list one may add the sign DUMU, which is very common in administrative texts and lacks the vertical wedge in the Syrian tradition.
[5] Exceptions are to be found especially among lists, for which the vertical format seems more appropriate. Some examples: *Emar* 36, *Emar* 64, *Emar* 65, *Emar* 168, *Emar* 279, *Emar* 319, *Emar* 336, *Emar* 378, RE 62, RE 73, ETBLM 30.
[6] Exceptions are *Emar* 46, *Emar* 49 (both are virtually square tablets).
[7] An exception is usually made when the filiation is given by the mother's name: *Emar* 37:11, *Emar* 65:18, 37, TSBR 99:4, 6.
[8] Seminara 1998, 55.
[9] *Emar* 46, *Emar* 48, *Emar* 49. Uncertain: *Emar* 52, EM 2.
[10] *Emar* 63, *Emar* 71, *Emar* 132, *Emar* 279, *Emar* 306, *Emar* 307, *Emar* 312, *Emar* 319, *Emar* 321, *Emar* 366, RE 62, ETBLM 18.

5. The Syro-Hittite tablets reflect a quite consistent use of horizontal lines for the separation of sections in the texts, although the exact meaning of these sections sometimes eludes us. In addition, it is common to find a closing line that marks the end of the text, especially when the tablet is not completely written[11]. This feature is not attested in the available Syrian evidence. A similar tendency can also be observed in the legal material.

6. It seems to be a more or less current practice among Syro-Hittite scribes to write a conclusion or a summary at the end of the text. The conclusion may begin with the words *unūtu annūtu* "these articles", followed by a brief indication of the purpose of the text and/or the nature of its content[12]. It must be said that this information used to be very scarce especially regarding the administrative, social, and economic context of the text. Furthermore, if the listed persons or commodities are summed up, the total sum is preceded either by the sign PAB or by ŠU.NÍGIN[13]. On the other side, virtually all the tablets of the Syrian tradition – though limited in number and of similar type – have a heading that begins with the word *ṭuppu* "tablet" and also points to the purpose or nature of the record[14].

7. In order to tick off the item in a list the two scribal traditions apparently use a different notation. While the Syro-Hittite scribes press the end of the stylus upon one of the first signs of a line, obliterating it in part, the scribes of the Syrian school employ a *Winkelhaken* put on a blank space towards the beginning of the line[15].

[11] *Emar* 300, *Emar* 307, *Emar* 309, *Emar* 310, *Emar* 311, *Emar* 316, *Emar* 317, *Emar* 320, *Emar* 321, *Emar* 331, *Emar* 336, *Emar* 361, *Emar* 363, *Emar* 364, *Emar* 367, *Emar* 368, *Emar* 378, *Emar* 379, *Emar* 380, *Emar* 381, TSBR 98, TSBR 100, RE 36, RE 50, ETBLM 16, ETBLM 20, ETBLM 22, ETBLM 23, ETBLM 25, ETBLM 26, ETBLM 28, ETBLM 29. Some texts have rulings after each line: *Emar* 318, *Emar* 324, *Emar* 328, *Emar* 329. See also *Emar* 336 and *Emar* 338, long lists of persons, where the *Winkelhaken* is used as a line counter, as well as *Emar* 275, *Emar* 276, and RE 78, where two *Winkelhaken* (GAM-sign) are used as a 'sentence' divider.
[12] *Emar* 284, *Emar* 285, *Emar* 310, ETBLM 21, ETBLM 22, ETBLM 27, ETBLM 29. With a slight variation: *Emar* 283, *Emar* 290, *Emar* 305, *Emar* 361, RE 36. Conclusions with other wordings: *Emar* 57, *Emar* 58, *Emar* 275, *Emar* 282, *Emar* 287, *Emar* 289, *Emar* 311, *Emar* 316, *Emar* 366, *Emar* 379, TSBR 97, TSBR 98, RE 50, RE 73, RE 74, RE 78, ETBLM 28, Fs-Kutscher 7, HIR 48.
[13] PAB: TSBR 100, SMEA-30 24, SMEA-30 25 (subtotals), ETBLM 21 (subtotal). ŠU.NÍGIN: *Emar* 51, *Emar* 132, *Emar* 306 (subtotal), *Emar* 310 (subtotals), *Emar* 320, *Emar* 323, *Emar* 364, ETBLM 18, ETBLM 30.
[14] *Emar* 44 (with a summary as well), *Emar* 45, *Emar* 46, *Emar* 48, *Emar* 50, *Emar* 52, EM 2. Heading with another phrasing: RE 17. Some texts of the Syro-Hittite type also have headings (and subheadings), but without the word *ṭuppu*: *Emar* 43, *Emar* 288, *Emar* 306, *Emar* 319, *Emar* 368, ETBLM 25, ETBLM 26.
[15] Syro-Hittite notation: *Emar* 64, *Emar* 65, RE 46, RE 48, RE 74, EM 1. Syrian notation: *Emar* 52, EM 2. For further commentaries see the edition of EM 2. We should add here that at least in one list of Alalaḫ IV a similar form of bookkeeping notation has been observed: AT 172, page 70 (edition in Dassow 2002, 875-879).

8. Of the approximately 175 administrative texts, twenty-five are sealed tablets. Most of them belong to the Syro-Hittite type and have the seal(s) impressed on the reverse, often separated from the text by a horizontal line[16]. This corresponds to the well-known practice of the legal documents. But unlike there, references to the seals' owners are exceptional. Only one text of the Syrian type has a cylinder seal rolled – according to the corresponding convention – across the upper edge[17]. Since not all the seals are published, a comprehensive analysis of the sealing practice in administration remains a future task. Nevertheless, I would like to point out one aspect related to the number of sealing persons that will lead us to the second part of this paper. It can roughly be said that in case of deliveries – be it grain, oil, beer or wine for personal consumption, be it raw material for working or metal disbursements – only one person, probably the responsible official, is sealing. On the contrary, inventories of commodities and recount of persons, that is administrative activities pertaining to the domain of control and revision, usually bear two seals belonging to the responsible official and to a scribe. The best attested team is the diviner Baʿl-mālik and the scribe Kili-Šarruma[18].

Baʿl-mālik is a member of the prominent family of diviners (^{LÚ}ḪAL) that is most strongly represented in the written evidence of building M_1, where the majority of the Emar texts, including the administrative ones, was found[19]. The character of this building and the diversity of its numerous tablets still rise some problems of interpretation[20]. In my opinion, the building may be best understood as the house of the mentioned family of diviners. The ritual texts show that they must have had a

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[16] The references in brackets correspond to the seal numbers in Emar IV: *Emar* 43 (A 33, A 26, B 53, A 69), *Emar* 56 (A 69), *Emar* 57 (B 4), *Emar* 275 (C 3), *Emar* 279 (E 71), *Emar* 285 (A 69, B 47), *Emar* 287 (A 69, B 47), *Emar* 290 (B 49), *Emar* 305 (A 69), *Emar* 309 (E 79), *Emar* 363 (A 62), *Emar* 364 (A 62), *Emar* 366 (A 62), TSBR 97 (B 64, B 57), HIR 48 (not published, but probably A 69, B 47), SMEA-30 26, ETBLM 28, ETBLM 29, Iraq-54 3 (assignation to the Syro-Hittite type is uncertain), RE 47, RE 50, RE 73 (?), RE 74, RE 78, PdA 68.

[17] RE 17.

[18] *Emar* 287, HIR 48, ETBLM 28, ETBLM 29. The cylinder seal of Baʿl-mālik bears no inscription. The identification is based on the label *Emar* 61, in which a reference to the seal owner is made. Kili-Šarruma has a signet ring with his name in cuneiform (type b) and Luwian (type a) engraved on it. We know his profession from a reference made in the just mentioned label. See Beyer 2001, 88-89, for Baʿl-mālik, and *idem* 2001, 143, for Kili-Šarruma; d'Alfonso (2002, 525-526) has suggested the identification of the scribe Kili-Šarruma with the son of the Hittite official Mutri-Teššup.

[19] Besides, there are a few tablets coming from (other) private houses and temples: *Emar* 22 ('Palais'), *Emar* 36, *Emar* 37 (Chantier C), *Emar* 43-62, EM 2 (Temple de Baʿal), *Emar* 63-67, EM 1 ('Temple d'Astarté'), *Emar* 71-73 (Temple M_2), *Emar* 99, *Emar* 102 (Chantier T), *Emar* 132 (Chantier V), EM 3 (Oberstadt). The most interesting group is the one of the Temple of Baʿl, where almost all the administrative texts of the Syrian type were discovered. According to the available information, they were found together with tablets of the Syro-Hittite type. The find spots of the tablets from irregular excavations are unknown. Some of them can be associated with the diviner's archive and will be mentioned accordingly. Others seem to come more likely from (other) private households, especially ETBLM 16, ETBLM 20-23.

[20] See Fleming 2000, 1-47, with ample bibliography; and Cohen 2005a, 194-196.

high standing in Emar society. According to the legal documentation and the correspondence they also had close connections to the Hittites. Their prestige in a relatively small city like Emar might have motivated other families to store their valuable documents such as titles of ownership or testamentary dispositions in the diviner's residence for safekeeping. It is not reasonable to expect texts of everyday life among the collections of these external groups[21]. In fact, even if the nature and purpose of many texts cannot be established with certainty, the assemblage of administrative documents found in M_1 can be assigned as a whole to the diviner's family[22].

Among the items most often registered in the texts are individuals, metals (both as commodity and as raw material), animals, and grain[23]. Notoriously scarce are references to textiles. The connection with cult supply and administration is evident in the case of temple inventories[24], lists of sacrificial animals[25], lists of vessels containing beer or wine offered to the gods[26], as well as lists of gods (Arnaud: "listes sacrificielles")[27]. In other instances, the mention of a member of the diviner's family or of cult personnel such as a temple administrator ([LÚ]SANGA), a slaughterer ([LÚ]za-bi-ḫu), a bearer of gods, i.e. gods' images ([LÚ]wa-bi-il i-la-i) or a singer (zammāru, nuāru) offers a hint at the setting of the text[28]. The diversity of gods attested in these records shows that the diviners were not attached to a single temple, thus confirming the title "Diviner of the gods of Emar" that two representatives of the family, Zū-Baʿla and Baʿl-mālik, bear in lexical text colophons[29]. So we are not dealing here with the remains of a temple household, but – as Daniel Fleming has already pointed

[21] An exception is perhaps *Emar* 168 (and fragments *Emar* 169 and *Emar* 170 that could belong to *Emar* 168), a list of real estate, in which the prince Iṣṣur-Dagān, who has some documents stored in the diviner's house, plays a prominent role. Such a text probably has a longer validity than other administrative material.

[22] Unfortunately, it is not possible to say whether the tablets were stored in a separate room or in specific places within a room. See the discussion of the archaeological context in Pedersén 1998, 61-64, and Fleming 2000, 19-21.

[23] It is not the aim of this contribution to discuss the evidence in detail. For improved readings that often lead to a better understanding of the texts I refer to the review article of Durand 1989; *idem* 1990a.

[24] *Emar* 284, *Emar* 287, *Emar* 288, TSBR 97, HIR 48, ETBLM 25-30. See also *Emar* 282, *Emar* 285 (delivery of temple treasure). Still puzzling to me is a group of texts from the Temple of Baʿl related to weapons stored (?) there (see Appendix no. 4).

[25] *Emar* 365, *Emar* 380, *Emar* 381, *Emar* 382 (?), ETBLM 19. See Fleming 1992b, 135-140, for the evidence of the ritual texts.

[26] *Emar* 274, *Emar* 363, *Emar* 364, *Emar* 367 (bread and drink for offering). See Fleming 1992b, 142-145, for the evidence of the ritual texts.

[27] *Emar* 378, *Emar* 379, *Emar* 383, *Emar* 384.

[28] Lists of persons: *Emar* 311 (ÉRIN.MEŠ entrusted to Baʿl-mālik), *Emar* 336, *Emar* 345. Deliveries of vessels containing oil, beer or wine: *Emar* 275, *Emar* 276, *Emar* 305 (seal of Baʿl-mālik), *Emar* 306, RE 78 (this text is similar to *Emar* 275; for their interpretation see Durand 1990a, 80, and Durand & Marti 2003a, 163). Disbursements of metals: *Emar* 366, *Emar* 368. Deliveries of grain: *Emar* 279, *Emar* 319. For West Semitic *za-bi-ḫu* = /ḏābiḫu/ see Pentiuc 2001, 193-194; for *i-la-i* = /ʾilāhū/ see Pentiuc 2001, 82-83.

[29] See *Emar* 604. The relationship between the diviners from M_1 and other members of this professional group is still an open question. See the general remarks in Beyer 2001, 447-449.

out – with the archive of a family of cult officials, who in spite of their professional designation had a wide range of responsibilities in the religious life of the city[30].

The ritual and festival texts reveal the important role of the diviner as a cult player. The administrative records suggest that he was also strongly involved in the organisation of these events[31]. In addition, he was a kind of superintendent for religious affairs, who was above the temple administrators and exercised a controlling function[32]. This is particularly clear when he inspects the temples, as shown by a group of texts sealed by Baʿl-mālik, often supported by the scribe Kili-Šarruma. Most of these records are lists concerning the treasure (*šukuttu*) of the gods and containing different metal objects, including jewellery, as well as stones[33]. Some of the texts set down the items debited (LÁ) by a temple administrator (*šangû*)[34]. It seems that these controlling activities took place at more or less regular intervals[35] and that different stages in the bookkeeping process existed. On the one hand, there are references to wooden writing boards (*lēʾu*), which probably included detailed lists of objects and served as primary source of control[36]. On the other hand, the mention of (sealed) packets of items (*riksu*) suggests that there might have been separate tablets describing their specific contents[37]. We know from Ḫattusa that regular revisions of institutional property constitute an important duty of Hittite officials[38]. Since the diviner's family was in close contact with the Hittite overlord,

[30] See Fleming 1992b, 87-92.
[31] See for example *Emar* 306, a list that records the delivery of *kuʾu*-vessels to numerous individuals, including women, called LÚ.MEŠ *ta-ḫa-zi* (literally "people of battle"). Although the exact meaning of this designation remains obscure, it is clear from the installation of the *mašʾartu*-priestess that they are cult players who receive meat and drink provisions (*Emar* 370:32-33). As Fleming (1996, 96-101) has convincingly demonstrated, Emar rituals and festivals are characterized by the involvement – beside the professional cult personnel – of the whole population, both as audience and participants.
[32] See Fleming 2000, 29-32, who speaks of a "cult supervisor".
[33] *Emar* 43, *Emar* 285, *Emar* 305, ETBLM 29. See also *Emar* 290, *Emar* 56, and *Emar* 57. For references to the seals see note 16. In the first two texts Baʿl-mālik appears together with his uncle Kāpī-Dagān, who was also diviner. For the rivalry between them see Cohen 2005b.
[34] *Emar* 287, HIR 48, ETBLM 28. See also TSBR 97 and compare *Emar* 282, where the treasure of a god is given to a temple administrator (on occasion of a festival?). For references to the seals see note 16.
[35] See HIR 48:8-9: [Debit o]f Šaggar-taliʾ, son of Šaggar-abu, temple administrator, and ETBLM 28:9-10: Debit of Šaggar-taliʾ, the former temple administrator. Baʿl-mālik and the scribe Kili-Šarruma seal both records. On the other hand, the scarcity of temporal information (see below) does not allow any statement as to the periodicity of the controls.
[36] *Emar* 285, *Emar* 290, *Emar* 305. For an overview of the regional evidence see Symington 1991.
[37] *Emar* 285, *Emar* 290.
[38] Siegelová (1986, especially pages 29 and 439) with reference to royal instructions that established in detail the duties of some state officials such as the governors of border provinces (*bēl madgalti*). Even if these instructions date to the Middle Hittite period (for the historical context see Pecchioli Daddi 2005), the administrative texts from Ḫattusa suggest that supervision of official property might have been a general practice also in later times. The records include tablets of many columns in accordance with the political status of

one may ask whether there is a connection between their empowerment as temple supervisors and the Hittites[39]. Anyway, the Hittite presence in the administrative texts seems to be limited mostly to the sphere of supervision, thus confirming the general impression of a loose domination.

The recurrent mention of Baʿl-mālik in the above paragraphs is not a mere coincidence. He is, in fact, the best-attested person in the administrative corpus and the most important clue for its chronological setting. With the exception of one tablet, which does not come from regular excavations[40], the texts are not dated and also include very little dating information, such as the names of months[41]. Baʿl-mālik belongs to the last active generation of the diviner's family, to be dated to the reign of Talmi-Teššup of Karkemiš[42]. Even if more prosopographical comparisons are necessary, it can be assumed that the bulk of the administrative material was written during the final period of Emar's history (roughly between the end of the 13th and the beginning of the 12th century B.C.). This is also the case in Ugarit and may be explained by the very nature of administrative tablets[43]. Unlike legal documents, their period of validity is quite limited, so that they were generally thrown away not long after redaction.

In contrast to Alalaḫ and Ugarit, Emar administrative tablets do not shed light on the social organisation. They refer to persons by name and filiation but very seldom include other qualifications as for example professional designation, place of origin or membership in a specific social group[44]. Again, one has to ask whether this is a matter of bureaucratic style or whether it is a reflection of a less differentiated society. The same holds true for the economic spheres represented in the texts. An important group is made up by lists of people and inventories, which are basically checkups of human and material resources[45]. In other words, they reflect what is

Ḫattusa, whereas the Emar material is almost exclusively represented by one-column texts. Exceptions: *Emar* 336 (list of persons), *Emar* 378, *Emar* 383 (lists of gods).

[39] See Yamada 1998, 333: "... these Emariote diviners were also treated as Hittite officials". His conclusion is based on the evidence of the legal documents and the letters. See also Yamada 2006, who now speaks of "Emaro-Hittites", and note 18 for the family background of Kili-Šarruma.

[40] SMEA-30 26, a note dated to the month Zababa, otherwise not attested in Emar.

[41] *Emar* 364:1, 2 (SAG.MU, Niqali), ETBLM 19:3 (SAG.MU). See also *Emar* 274:4, *Emar* 327:15-16, *Emar* 328:3'. For a summary of the non-uniform evidence of Syrian sites see Vita 1998, 43-45.

[42] Yamada 1998, 330 (figure 1) and 332 (figure 2). Texts to be dated to the generation of Baʿl-qarrād, father of Baʿl-mālik: *Emar* 275 and perhaps *Emar* 336.

[43] Van Soldt 1991, 231.

[44] Some remarkable exceptions are *Emar* 22, *Emar* 44, *Emar* 132, *Emar* 277, *Emar* 336 (mentioning, among others, two men from Karduniaš), *Emar* 368, TSBR 100 (according to the interpretation of Durand & Marti 2003a, 176), ETBLM 18, ETBLM 20, ETBLM 21, PdA 68 (but see Durand & Marti 2003a, 144, for a different reading). For cult personal see note 28.

[45] See Appendix nos. 1-3 and 11-12. The purpose of the lists of people can be guessed only in a few cases, where they are specified as guards (RE 73) or workers/soldiers (ÉRIN.MEŠ: *Emar* 311, SMEA-30 24, Fs-Kutscher 7). See also RE 50, where the men seem to be listed in connection with a festival.

there or what is available at a specific time or, alternatively, what is not there or not available, thus giving us a static picture of the city's economy. The other predominant group of texts records transactions that basically belong to the sphere of (re)distribution: offering lists, deliveries of sheep, grain, beer, wine, and oil, and disbursements of metals[46]. In several instances it is difficult to say whether the registered items are given by the administration or handed over to it. Like other bureaucratic systems Emar administration minimizes the use of verbs and prepositions that could have helped to clarify the nature and purpose of the texts. A basic distinction can be traced between delivery for consumption, in which case the preposition *ana* is used[47], and delivery for management, i.e., when a person or commodity is entrusted to someone for supervision or handling. This is expressed by the prepositional phrases *ana qāt* (ŠU) or *ana muḫḫi*[48].

In four delivery notes there is a connection to the field of manufacture, since certain quantities of silver (and once also of gold) are given (SUM) for working (*ana epēši*)[49]. Two of them are also sealed, though contrary to what we would normally expect in the contemporary Middle Assyrian practice, the sealer is not the party liable, who by the application of his seal acknowledges the liability, but an official representing the administration. Anyway, activities other than storage/hoarding and distribution, as for example production, taxation, transport or trade, are hardly attested. This "limited documentary coverage", following an expression coined by Nicolas Postgate[50], has at least partly to do with the scope of the diviner's archive. As we have already seen, this archive mainly contains records concerning cult supervision and festival organization and does not reflect activities outside this framework[51]. In this respect, it is revealing that the four delivery notes connected to manufacturing were not found in the building M$_1$, but in the temple of Ba'l.

Finally, it has already been noted that the administrative texts show no interest in the king and that they are not part of the palace household[52]. This observation is in agreement with the information of the legal and religious texts, which suggest that

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[46] See Appendix nos. 4-10.
[47] *Emar* 51, *Emar* 56, *Emar* 57, *Emar* 58 (all with *nadānu*), *Emar* 277, *Emar* 310, *Emar* 315, *Emar* 321, *Emar* 326, *Emar* 328, *Emar* 364 (with *nadānu*), *Emar* 365, ETBLM 21.
[48] Texts with *ana* ŠU (without verb): *Emar* 311, *Emar* 316, *Emar* 323, RE 73. Texts with *ana muḫḫi* (without verb): *Emar* 51, *Emar* 132, PdA 68 (see Durand & Marti 2003a, 144, for a different interpretation). Variations in connection with verbs: *Emar* 282, Fs-Kutscher 7 (both *ana* PN + *nadānu*), SMEA-30 24 (*ana* PN + *paqādu*).
[49] *Emar* 51, *Emar* 56, *Emar* 57, *Emar* 58.
[50] Postgate 2001, 184.
[51] Fleming (2000, 40), suggests that the barley allotments documented in the diviner's archive might have been produced in city-owned land and delivered directly through the administrative intermediacy of the diviner. Dietrich (1990, 41) assumes that the source of supply was represented by "Abgaben der Gläubigen und Latifundien". See *Emar* 320, a text that could be connected with imposts or contributions in grain and further ETBLM 24 and *Emar* 42, royal votive offerings to temples.
[52] Fleming 2000, 38-39. Texts that in some way refer to the palace or to members of the royal family are *Emar* 319, *Emar* 321, *Emar* 333, *Emar* 349, *Emar* 361, *Emar* 378, *Emar* 379, ETBLM 23.

Emar's society was less centralized than were neighbouring Ugarit and Alalaḫ and that the king had to share the power with communal authorities like the Temple of NIN.URTA and the Elders[53]. Nevertheless, we should be very cautious in drawing more general conclusions about the socio-economic model, since the palace archive has not been discovered yet. The so-called Hilani in Chantier A, the building the French excavators presumed to be the palace, can no longer be held as one. Neither the archaeological remains nor the cuneiform texts found there allow such an interpretation[54]. According to a widespread conceptualization, Mesopotamian societies are characterized either as king-centered or as temple-based systems[55]. Based on the Alalaḫ and Ugarit evidence, Late Bronze Age Syria is ascribed to the first pattern. It is my impression, however, that Emar has to be situated somewhere in between[56].

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[53] See Fleming 1992a.
[54] See McClellan 1997, 30-31, and Sallaberger 2003, 276.
[55] See for example Steinkeller 1999, especially pages 314-315, n. 22, concerning Emar.
[56] See the contribution by Démare-Lafont in this volume.

Appendix: Administrative Texts from Emar

Since the nature and purpose of the texts are not always clear, the following classification is based on the item most frequently mentioned. In some cases, tablets with a striking resemblance have been placed together as a subgroup and called after the keyword. Moreover, considering that a neat division between administrative and non-administrative (especially legal) texts is often difficult to trace, some cases – both regarding included and excluded tablets – are more a matter of appreciation and open to discussion.

1. Texts recording individuals (sometimes in relation to numerals):

Emar 36, *Emar* 37, *Emar* 53, *Emar* 54, *Emar* 55, *Emar* 64, *Emar* 65, *Emar* 66, *Emar* 67, *Emar* 71, *Emar* 99, *Emar* 102, *Emar* 311, *Emar* 336, *Emar* 337, *Emar* 338, *Emar* 339, *Emar* 340, *Emar* 341, *Emar* 342, *Emar* 343, *Emar* 344, *Emar* 345, *Emar* 346, *Emar* 347, *Emar* 348, *Emar* 349, *Emar* 350, *Emar* 351, *Emar* 352, *Emar* 353, *Emar* 354, *Emar* 355, *Emar* 356, *Emar* 357, *Emar* 358, *Emar* 359, *Emar* 360, TSBR 98, TSBR 99, TSBR 100, RE 46, RE 47, RE 48, RE 50, RE 62, RE 73, SMEA-30 24, Fs-Kutscher 7, PdA 68, EM 1.

2. Texts recording various commodities (including metal objects, slaves, textiles, vehicles, wooden utensils, furniture, livestock, and barley):

ETBLM 16, ETBLM 20, ETBLM 21, ETBLM 22, ETBLM 23.

3. Texts recording primarily metal objects (especially bronze), sometimes in association with jewellery and stones:

Emar 283, *Emar* 284, *Emar* 285, *Emar* 286, *Emar* 289, *Emar* 290, *Emar* 296, *Emar* 303, *Emar* 309, *Emar* 361, ETBLM 27, ETBLM 29, ETBLM 30.
3.1 *šukuttu*-texts: *Emar* 43, *Emar* 282, *Emar* 288, ETBLM 25, ETBLM 26.
3.2 LÁ-texts: *Emar* 287, TSBR 97, ETBLM 28, HIR 48.

4. Texts recording weapons (especially *katappu* and *katinnu*):

Emar 44, *Emar* 45, *Emar* 46, *Emar* 47, *Emar* 48, *Emar* 49, *Emar* 52, *Emar* 59, EM 2.

5. Texts recording vessels (as containers of beer, wine or oil)

5.1 In connection with personal names: *Emar* 50, *Emar* 275, *Emar* 276, *Emar* 305, *Emar* 306, *Emar* 307, RE 78.
5.2 In connection with divine names: *Emar* 274, *Emar* 300, *Emar* 363, *Emar* 364.

6. Texts recording animals (especially sheep)

6.1 In connection with personal names: *Emar* 132, *Emar* 321, *Emar* 322, *Emar* 323, *Emar* 324, *Emar* 325, *Emar* 326, *Emar* 327, *Emar* 328, *Emar* 329, *Emar* 330, *Emar* 331, *Emar* 332, *Emar* 333, *Emar* 334, *Emar* 335, SMEA-30 25.
6.2 In connection with divine names: *Emar* 365, *Emar* 380, *Emar* 381, *Emar* 382, ETBLM 19.

7. Texts recording grain and its by-products:

Emar 279, *Emar* 312, *Emar* 315, *Emar* 316, *Emar* 317, *Emar* 318, *Emar* 319, *Emar* 320, *Emar* 367, SMEA-30 26, Iraq-54 3, EM 3.

8. Texts recording metal amounts (especially silver and gold):

Emar 63, *Emar* 277+, *Emar* 278, *Emar* 280, *Emar* 310, *Emar* 366, *Emar* 368, RE 74, ETBLM 17, ETBLM 18.

9. Texts recording metals as raw material:

Emar 51, *Emar* 56, *Emar* 57, *Emar* 58.

10. Texts recording textiles:

Emar 22, *Emar* 73, *Emar* 301, *Emar* 302, RE 36.

11.Texts recording divine names:

Emar 378, *Emar* 379, *Emar* 383, *Emar* 384.

12. Texts recording real estate:

Emar 168, *Emar* 169, *Emar* 170, RE 17.

13. Labels:

Emar 61, *Emar* 62.

14. Uncertain because too fragmentary:

Emar 72, *Emar* 281, *Emar* 291, *Emar* 292, *Emar* 293, *Emar* 294, *Emar* 295, *Emar* 297, *Emar* 298, *Emar* 299, *Emar* 304, *Emar* 313, *Emar* 314.

15. Still unpublished (according to the CD catalog of Pruzsinszky 2003):

IOPhW 2, IOPhW 6 (tablets of the Oriental Institute, Würzburg).